428 592 his parents have any property. If there is no son, then the eldest daughter inherits. She, in consultation with her parents, picks out a husband for herself. Such a husband is 583 termed a "makpa." He is the property of his wife, and his 428 younger brothers cannot claim to share her. The "makpa" 591 has to live on his wife's property. When he marries, the 592 daughter, the latter inherits the "khángchhen," while her 586 parents take the "khángoo." A "makpa" is only one step removed from the "cavaliere serviente," can be turned out at a moment's notice, for no fault, and even the fact of his having children by the woman, does not debar the latter from her right to dismiss him summarily. It is usual for a woman to give a dismissed "makpa" a sheep or a few rupees. 597 If there are no children in a house, then a son is adopted; for particulars in regard to this, see under the heading "adoption" and "husband."

●753 EPILEPSY--za. Ladákis think that if the shadow of a rainbow falls on any person, he, or she, becomes epileptic, but see under "Rainbow".

779 [39]ETERNAL BLISS--deywa chhenmo. The ordinary Ladáki knows little or nothing about the state of "deywa chhenmo" which is apparently very similar to the European idea of "nirvána" or absorption into the Absolute Infinite. Buddhists have no God, according to our ideas, there is therefore no Being into whose Infinity they can be absorbed. They understand "deywa chhenmo" to mean a state of absolute rest and peace--free from all desires and pains, and to be attained only by the spirit of the pious at the conclusion of the period of its re-births or embodiments, in this world.

563 195 EUROPEAN--pheelingpa. This word means literally "people from beyond the ocean," it is, however, applied to all Europeans, whether they come from across the sea or not, e.g., Russians in Siberia would be termed pheelingpa. On the other hand a native of Ceylon would not be termed pheelingpa. The ordinary and more respectful word for a European is the Indian word "Sáhib."

red and yellow sects. The women of Ladák do not wear petticoats. Their dress consists of patoo trousers and a patoo garment in which bodice and skirt or petticoat are joined together. The skirt part of this garment is called "hmadGHak" or hmad-yok", and the bodice part "stotGHak."

PHANTOM--hlandey or hlandrey--the name of a class of spirits, supposed to appear in various forms, and then to suddenly vanish out of sight; zumthhrul or zumthhul or chhumthhrul or chhumthhul, as a mirage; namSHet or namSHes, the ghost of a dead person; SHeelok, one returned from the dead. But see "Resurrection."

PHYLACTERY--srunga or SHunga. The Buddhists of Ladák obtain from their Lámás, extracts, or texts, from their sacred books, printed on paper or longcloth, etc., these they enclose in a silver or copper casket (kabzóma) worn like a locket. The poorest people wrap them up in paper and tie them to a string worn round the neck or waist. [121] The men sometimes fasten them to their caps, and the women to their headdresses (peyrak). A Buddhist never wears a charm on his arm or wrist as a Hindoo or Mahomedan might do.

[121]

PILGRIMAGE--hnasjal or jala. Ladakis go on pilgrimages to Triló́knath, the Manasarwar lake, Jowála Mukhi and other places of Hindoo pilgrimage.

PIPE--kanzak, or respectfully zhalzak, a tobacco pipe with a straight stem, about 10 inches long, and with small round bowl. They are made of brass or iron, and sometimes silver plated. This is the pipe of the traveller and of the villagers. Townspeople use the Indian pipe which they call "cheelam" or "gurguri cheelam." The Baltistán pipe, which is also used by Ladakis, is called "roocho-cheelam," or respectfully "doncheelam" "poori" a pipe for conducting water, etc.; "oldong" the wind-pipe.

[123]POLYANDRY--There is no word for this. Polyandry is almost universal among the Buddhists of Ladak. For further information, see under the heading "Marriage." It is said that polyandry induces leprosy, but in Ladak the disease is unknown, though

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in the neighbouring province of Baltistan, where there is no polyandry, it is common enough.

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POSSESSED--hlá zhukskhan or hlaba (of a good or evil spirit). The first word is used to signify a man only while actually under the influence of the spirit. Hlaba is applied to a person who is at [124] times so possessed. But see under "Festival." Gongpo (or feminine gongmo) is the term applied to the "spirit" with which a person is "possessed."

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PRAYER WHEEL--máney chhos khor (general); máney lak skor (hand prayer wheel); mánkey chhoo skor (water-power prayer wheel). The prayer wheel consists of a cylindrical-shaped box, made, in the case of the hand prayer wheels, of copper, and in the case of the large prayer wheels worked by water-power, of wood. The cylinder revolves on a pivot which passes through its centre, and the lower part of which serves as a handle, while at the upper extremity is affixed a metal cap, to keep the cylinder in position. The cylinder is filled with rolls of paper, on which are written prayers or texts. [125] As the cylinder revolves, the texts also revolve, and as each revolution of a prayer is equivalent in merit to its repetition, and as hundreds of prayers are revolved with each revolution of the cylinder, it is clear that, according to Buddhist ideas, much value attaches to the máney chhos-khor. To the centre of the cylinder, of the hand wheel, is attached a light chain, about three inches long, and having a small weight fastened to its extremity; thus when once the wheel has been set in motion, it requires very little effort to keep it going. Máney skor ches is "to cause a prayer wheel to revolve."

[126]PRIMOGENITURE--góboo-i-thoptáng-i-thims (or thrims). The law of primogeniture prevails in Ladák. But see under "Entail."

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PRINCE--giálpo or giápo or rgiálpo (ruler); giáloo or rgiáloo (child of ruler); SHráspo or sráspo (male infant child of ruler).

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PRINCESS--giámo or rgiámo (female ruler or wife of ruler); SHrásmo or srásmo, (the female infant child of a ruler).

213 PRINT TO--par giáp ches. Printing in Ladak is confined entirely to the printing of texts, religious books, etc. The Lámas are the only people who print, and their methods are exceedingly primitive. They have blocks of wood engraved, and with these they print or stamp the texts, etc.

875 [129]PURR TO--máney ton ches i.e., to tell beads. Tibetans consider
768 that a cat is a sacred animal, having once slept on the hem of God's garment. They think that when it is purring, it is muttering prayers, hence the expression for to purr.

751 QUARANTINE--GHak ches. In the old days, the Ladák Rajas, whenever they heard that small-pox was prevalent in Kashmir, used to impose a 10-days' quarantine at Khalsi on all arrivals from Kashmir.

776 [130]QUEEN--giámo or giálmo or rgiálmo. The Queen-Empress of
177 India is known to Ladákis as "paldan hlámo" or "goddess Paldan." In pictures, the "Paldan Hlámo" one of the Buddhists' goddesses or fairies, is represented as sitting on horseback, not astride, as after the manner of Ladák ladies, but sideways; hence, as European ladies ride on side saddles, the Queen has been given the name of Paldan Hlámo. It is supposed that the Queen's children used to fly away into space, and converse with the fairies, but that latterly, as they have taken to eating pig's flesh, this power has been taken away from them.

524 QUOIT--lchaks i khorlo (the iron quoit) khábmo (the game). Ladákis have a game like quoits, only they use stones, which have to be thrown into a small hole in the ground.

525 RAFFLE TO--rgiánSHingtáng ches. Each man takes a stick and marks it, the sticks are all put into a bag together and a disinterested person draws out one stick, and the owner of it wins the raffle.

821 RAINBOW--zachoothung. The word "za", means 'epilepsy" and "chhoo-
● 753 thung" means "water drink." Ladákis look upon the rainbow as the spirit of epilepsy; they say that one end of the rainbow is always in a stream, or other water, and that the phenomenon is caused by the spirit of epilepsy coming down to drink. If the shadow of a rainbow falls on any person, he or she becomes epilepti

[131]

412 RAKE--kházey (wooden, with teeth); panka (small wooden, and with no teeth).

TEA-SPOON--thurmang chhungan (the ordinary spoon); chhá'thum, or respectfully solthum (the large brass spoon with which tea is ladled into the cups). 415 195

TEMPLE--Ladákis have no temples, and are not addicted to congregational worship. Almost every man has in his own house, if he is a rich man, a "Hlakchhung" or "idol room," where a Lama always is on duty to attend to the lights, repeat prayers, etc., and if he is a poor man a "Chhotkhang" or idol room. The apartment in a monastery where the sacred books are kept is called the "Chhoskhang." The room in a monastery where congregational worship takes place is called "Dookhang" or Rdookhang. 346 778 565 792 792 779 794

[160]TOBACCO--tamak. Ladákis smoke the pure leaf of the tobacco plant, grown in Baltistan. They dislike the abomination of the Indian bázár. 276 439

TOOTH-ACHE--so-i-zuk. Tibetans think that tooth-ache and the decay of teeth is caused by the presence of a small worm, which they call "So-i-boo." 763 ●

[161]TRANSMIGRATION--khorwa or skorwa, the theory of "metempsychosis" (which see) or the six classes of beings in which re-birth of the soul may take place. 775

TRAP--peeltem (any kind of contrivance, other than a snare or noose, for catching animals); peerdung (with falling trap door, like a rat-trap). 224

TRINITY--konjok sum. The Buddhist Trinity consists of (1) sangeys konjok (Buddha); (2) chhos konjok (the Buddhist scripture); (3) geyndun konjok (the Buddhist priesthood). 779

[162]

TROUSSEAU--raktak. This is the word used to denote the whole of the property, of whatever kind, which a girl gets from her parents when she marries. The chief object, from the bridegroom's point of view, of having a set wedding is to get hold of this "raktak," for if there is no formal wedding, there is probably no "raktak." Hence the object of celebrating a wedding long after the woman has become the unmarried wife of the man. But see "Marriage." 583

534 TRUMPET--turump (military); zangdung (the long copper trumpet, used by Lamas; it is about eight feet long, one man holds the mouth-piece and blows it, while another holds up the other end of the instrument).

429 TRUSTEE--chólma. The old Ladak custom in regard to trusts was that, except in family matters, if a man entrusted his goods to another to keep, that person was answerable for them for only nine years. If the owner failed to demand his property within that period, his claim lapsed. Hence a trustee was called a "chólma lórgioo" or "nine years" trustee."

301 TURQUOISE--hioo (general term); hioothra (the small stones used for rings, etc.); dunhioo (the large stone worn on the front centre of the "peyrak" (see "Head dress"); hioo (the ordinary Stones on the "peyrak"). There are separate names to describe the exact kind of stone, thus the "hioopuk" is the best, it is free from flaws and with very little green in it; the "thrukmar" is the next best, and "thrukkar" is the next [163] best. These three classes comprise all the good stones. In-
[439] ferior kinds are known as "pot-hioo" and "rgiáhioo." Turquoises of the last two classes come to Ladák from Lhása or China; they are full of flaws and generally very green. The best turquoises come up from India. Ladákis object to flaws, but they like a little green, as they consider it a sort of guarantee that the turquoise has not been manufactured.

● 763 776 ULCER--hngiánbur or shooa (general). Ladákis think that fish living in or near a spring are really fairies; they call them "hlángia," or "hloongia" or "tungngia," according to their species. It is supposed that if a person eats, or troubled with these fish, he will be troubled with ulcers, which will not heal till the injured fish recovers its health. Such ulcers are called "hlooskion."

783 UNCTION--thrus táng (or sol) ches. This is the word used to express the Lámáistic ceremony of pouring holy water, from a pungpa," over the head of a person, to cleanse him from his sins. After pouring a little water on the head, the worshipper receives a little water in the palm of his hand; he drinks a little, and then puts the rest of it to his eyes.

751 The
[326] goldsmith in Leh, who also produced many temple implements aside from the women's ornaments that he made, had sold him the silver one for two rupees; the consecration by the lama, who inserted a magical piece of paper by which the amulet obtained its magical power, cost another 12 anna (equals Reichsmark 1.00).

●753 Despite all these protective measures, in spite of all pious
783 exercises and arts of exorcism performed by the priests, little Drogpa Namgyal became seriously sick when he was about two years old, around the time of the ripening of the apricots. He suffered from a
[757] very bad stomach and intestinal disease which could not be alleviated by any of the remedies applied to it, such as the eating of flour porridge, medicines, and the like. How was this possible after all the protective measures which had been taken up? There must be some special reason for this. /28/ Grandmother Tsering Putrid turned to investigating. She wanted by all means to find out what it was. After two days she came back filled with anger from the neighbor women with whom she had had a long, excited conversation. Now she had discovered the cause. The niece Yangdsom, who often had to take care of the little boy and who then carried him around tied to her back by a wide shawl, had gone out of curiosity into the house of Dragtschanpa. The latter's wife had recently died, and the niece had gone into see what the lamas, who had gone in with books, censers and musical instruments, were doing there. In so doing she had, of course, become impure, together with the unsuspecting child on her back, and the house god was angered about this. The stupid girl! For this stupidity she should have her ears boxed a couple of times once she had been purified again by an offering. And what was to happen to the sick darling? The lama
755 Mipam who was much in demand as a healer, was called into the
783 house. The lama sat down by the side of the mother who had the child in her lap and was crouching on a carpet; he took a book and began to read prayers to the medicine Buddha Manla (Tibetan: sMan-bla, in Sanskrit: Bhaishajyaguru), the great healer of all sicknesses. Then he produced a small brass mirror which had a loop at its edge through which was tied a strip of white silk. This mirror the lama held before the child's face in such manner that its reflection was visible in the mirror. Then he sprinkled consecrated water from a small metal jug several times over the image in the mirror at the same time constantly mumbling prayers and formulas to himself. By this process, as the holy man explained, the child was purified of all stains.

Then the lama took a slip of paper on which he had written a

It was extremely seldom that one could fell a tree in this wilderness, which is poor in rain and in trees. Aside from willows, poplars, apricot and nut trees and a few apple and almond trees at the irrigated bottom of the valley, only a number of tamarisks and hawthorn trees grew at the edge of the brook in the side-valley, and up above in far-removed highland valleys grew a few juniper trees (Juniperus excelsa); on the slopes of the mountains and on the plateaus there was neither tree nor shrub to be seen for miles around, only here and there bushes of burtse, a woody, strongly smelling species of erotia, gorse (caragana versicolor), and similar woody shrubs.

Over there, beyond the Indus, stood a group of poplars, it is true, in the middle of a steep and barren mountain slope, as well as wild currant bushes and tamarisks at a well. But nobody dared to cut down wood there. There lived a terrible Lu by the side of the well who guarded the water and the bushes. The wife of Konchog Trashi, the old teller of legends and fairytales, had once cut off a few dried branches from the trees and had taken them home./34/. The following year she came down with leprosy, the Lu-disease (klu-nad) as the Tibetan calls it, which the angered nymph had conjured upon her. She died a horrible death. "That's what she gets for her forwardness," the lamas had declared. Drogpa Namgyal was thus also warned very severely both by parents and grandmother never to get wood from there or even as much as to go in the neighborhood of the well; likewise he was not to cut any wood from the large, beautiful juniper trees in the nearby Skyinling valley, for those trees were Lhashing (lha-sin, "gods' trees"), inhabited by mountain gods, whom it would be dangerous to provoke since it might cost the offender his life.

It was a laborious task to extract with the small pointed hoe the burtse shrubs with their woody root stem and then to tie them together with the strong string made of goat or yak hair into a proper carrying burden. In this way the boy learned early to carry a considerable load on his back and to bring it into the valley along the narrow, poor mountain pathways. Sometimes, when it was necessary to collect a larger quantity of fuel, a few donkeys were taken along into the mountains to help with the carrying.

Often his mother, and even more frequently his grandmother, sent the boy to the nearby caravan route in order to collect cow and horse dung in a basket. This dung was then spread out on the flat roof of the house for drying and was then in turn used for fuel. Drogpa Namgyal once heard his grandmother give his mother a severe scolding

touch the hearth; he becomes angered if someone accidentally should burn an old rag, a dog's dung or something else which might cause a bad smell in the hearth fire. And it causes the lamas great difficulties--and considerable expenses to the owner of the house--to appease the outraged deity again by means of /42/ offerings, prayers and invocations, and to put him at rest again."

Many another evening the two would sit together in the evening twilight under the nut tree, the old man and the boy, until the black night descended upon the mountain and the chasm. Namgya simply could not hear enough of the gods and spirits, their activities and their nature. Konchog Trashi told the attentively listening boy about the mighty Lu (klu), the water gods and nymphs, who have their empire in the depths of the earth, in rivers, lakes and marshes, but also up in the air. They are represented by human bodies with snakes which from the neck up rise over the head, or by just the upper parts of the human body, which below go over into the body of a snake. On pictures they also appear solely as snakes. They are the guardians of immeasurable treasures in the inner parts of the earth. Another time they appear as dragons which produce the rain and which control the course of the waters. They form states which are ruled by mighty kings; upon their favor depends the growth, prospering, and welfare in the human world. When a human being angers them, he is afflicted by drought, crop failure, disease and death.

The old man also told of the red Tsan (btsan) demons who chase along as "wild hunters" over the mountains and through the clouds and whose discharged arrows bring disease and death to man; furthermore he told of witches and vixens, of hobgoblins and dwarfs. The latter are active in the ruins of the Balukhar, the "dwarf castle" (20) /the

20. In reality a customs tower (toll tower) which was built at the bridge across the Indus and formerly used to stand there, for the purpose of levying tolls.

numbering of the footnotes suddenly skips here from 16 to 20. --translator/, there at the bank of the Indus. "My neighbor, the Bandhepa, recently encountered a dwarf," said the old man, "as he was riding late one night from Nyurla (a neighboring village) to his house after a wedding at which they had a beer party. There the little man was standing between the large stone blocks to the side of the road with his

754 a much-traveled friend of Namgyal explained that the disease had an entirely natural cause, the immoderate eating of apricots as well as the uncleanliness of the people: Tsering Putrid stuck to her opinions stubbornly. The lamas were called in, they read, prayed to all the Buddhas and in particular to the medicine Buddha, they presented scattered offerings, and beat their drums--all in vain. Finally a man who had traveled around a great deal with an Indian doctor advised: "Don't give the boy any cow's milk or butter tea to drink any more. Give him thick flour soup and goat's milk to drink, then he'll get better!" The mother followed his advice and gradually he started to improve and finally was cured. For a long time it remained a mystery who had placed the goat's horn under the threshold /131/, and for a long time to come old Tsering Putrid followed Chondsom with hostile looks and allusions, until a woman from a neighboring house told that she had seen a vagabond from Greater Tibet, a Khampa, who went begging from house to house busying himself near Namgyal's house door. Now they remembered the incident. The man had stolen a
[685] silver-plated drinking bowl in a neighbor's house; he had been caught and led before Namgyal as the village judge. The latter did not want to see a great trial made of the matter, otherwise he would have had to take the man to Leh himself, a trip of three days, in order to have him sentenced there. He did not want to do that: so he had made a brief procedure of it and had given the thief a sound thrashing with the horsewhip and then had let him go. For this the Khampa had wanted to avenge himself by means of the charm of the goat's horn.

753 Scarcely was the anxiety over the boy's sickness passed, when a new source of concern entered the Dragshos house. The mother of the boy, who had recovered, fell sick of acute pneumonia. The lharje was called in, he gave her medicine, bled the patient, and burned her chest and back with a red-hot iron. But nothing could help her. Again the lamas were called in, in order to ascertain the cause of the illness. For a long time they searched in vain for a tangible cause. "It is simply her karma," they said, "the consequence of sinful deeds which she has committed in past existences, and who knows those!"

The lamas meanwhile searched industriously for the cause of the illness. Usually it turned out that the demons had a hand in the matter despite karma and retribution. They asked the patient and her husband many questions: "Has a stranger come into the house recently, perhaps a 'heathen' (a non-Buddhist), a Mon, a Beda, a Muslim, or perhaps even a Kristan (Christian), or an impure person;

and had he perhaps sat down by the stove and in this way angered the household god and the hearth god by making house and hearth impure by his presence?" With these and other, similar questions the patient was tormented; but all these questions were answered with no. Finally it turned out that the Mon, Chospell, (therefore an impure person) from the neighboring village, who was an enthusiastic huntsman /182/, had come into the house late one evening with the "red" (that is the fresh) meat of one of the wild sheep that he had shot, in order to pay off with the meat a debt of grain that he had with the Dragshos. Now this was a threefold transgression: first of all, killing was a great sin; secondly, the gods, especially the red Tsan-demons, were angered and provoked by the sight of this "red" meat; and thirdly, the household god was insulted by the sight of an impure person (the Mon) in the house. And in the tracks of such a visitor, if he was an impure one, there followed evil spirits into the house. These must now be exorcised by means of a scattered fire offering; and they must be chased away (t'sa-me p'aṅ-ces). While the men were still talking the Mon, Chospell, who was a carpenter, came again in order to deliver a small table that he had made. He was not admitted, but had to wait outside away from the house for a long time. 753

Meanwhile the first lama had a flat, iron pan handed to him, and said to Namgyal: "I want to show you how one makes a scattered fire offering and how one appeases and drives the evil spirits away with it." Namgyal had to put all kinds of leftovers from meals in the pan--pieces of bread, flour, rice, bones, onions, and salt--and on top of this he had to place red-hot coals and hot ashes, so that the house was soon filled with a stinking vapor. Now all the inhabitants of the house went through the stable down to the house door with the lama. The lama opened the door and threw some of the smoldering contents of the pan onto the threshold. The Mon who was still waiting outside to be let in, was now allowed to step over the vaporous mass and over the threshold and into the house, and to carry out his business. The lama declared that the evil spirits, gods, and demons were now all pacified and soothed: the red Tsan-demons, the Nod-jin (gnod-sbyin), who are the terror of the mountain passes, the devils (bdud), the water and earth deities (klu, sa-bdag), the Jungpo demons and fiends, the man-eating Shasa (śaza), the wondrous Mimchi (mi-am-ci), creatures half man, half god; the heavenly musicians (the Kinnara of Hindu mythology); the smell-eating Drisa (dri-za), angel-like creatures with wings, the "Non-gods" (lha-na-yin), the giants of the sacred Mountain 755 755 756

755 of the gods, Meru; the Dripo, the Drimo, the Poyong, the Moyong,
776 the Lhandre (lha-adre), all of these were /183/ now appeased and did not have to be feared any more, so the lama assured them; lured by the "sweet smell" of the food, they had, he explained, come to the spot immediately in order to enjoy it. And now, he stated, they were satisfied, had disappeared, and would no longer do the sick woman any harm, and she would certainly recover soon now.

753 Meanwhile the sick Chosskyid did not recuperate. Despite all
755 the statements of the lamas, the lharje, and the devil-tamer, foretelling her recovery, her condition became worse. There must be something special in the matter; certain gods are obviously still angry at the patient, said the great Lama Mipam. What in all the world has she done! They tortured the deathly weak woman with new questions. Finally came the answer: once she had accidently burned some dog's excrement with dry cow dung, and another time she had also burned
[776] an old rag in the stove. By these actions the hearth god (thab-lha) and apparently another god who just happened to be housed in a tree in the neighborhood, had been provoked. Their olefactory nerves, which in Tibet ordinarily were not spoiled, could not stand this stink. The gods demanded the "five pleasing offerings" (adod-yon-lha) for the five senses: for the taste--a food and drink offering: for the smell--flowers or incense offering: for the sense of sight--a mirror; for the hearing--musical instruments which, like the mirror, were placed before the altar: for the touch--silken clothes and similar articles.

753 Further, the confession was pressed out of the patient that during
776 the past autumn she had drunk from the well in the course of the grass gathering over there by the slope of the mountain beyond the Indus. At this well is housed the dreaded Lu, the water and snake god. She had been so thirsty that she just had to drink. But this had of course driven the Lu to anger, said the lama; for this he had made her ill. Finally Chosskyid also confessed that once in a great rush she had spilled a bucket of dish water over one of the red-painted stones before her house that are dedicated to the red Tsan god. That was another bad transgression which had aroused the fire in the gods.

755 To appease the Lu gods, the lamas read the book which they had brought along just in case, of the "hundred thousand Lu" (klu-abum); the Tsan deities received a storma (sacrificial cake for the /184/ cast offering), to which the lamas gave the shape of a human being and which they painted red. After reciting formulas of exorcism they carried the figure behind the house and into the adjoining desert and

karma as a service which furthers his final release from the bonds of being and from suffering. 766

Otherwise, too, there was much disease during this year. The Nardag (na-bdag), the "demon of disease," went around the country followed on its heels by Tšelen, the messenger of the god of death, who carried off into the realm of the dead the human beings, man as well as woman, child as well as the aged, with his catching net. Many a one was struck by the Nardag with a violent and mysterious sickness which no doctor knew or could heal. 753

There was Rolma from the P'arlap'ang house (p'ar-la-p'aṅ), literally "the thrown-out one." She suddenly fell sick, complained about pains in her abdomen and in her back, her limbs became stiff and ached, the shivering ague and fever set in, and at times the sick woman lay there as if dead. The Tibetan doctors and magicians were at their wit's end. All their remedies failed, and even the cause of the illness was obscured to them. Finally they apparently came closer to the solution, as the lamas thought. Again, Khampas, men from greater Tibet, had had a hand in the matter. Recently a company of these Tibetans, Nask'orpas (gnas-ak'or-pa), literally translated, "Circlers of holy places," that is, pilgrims who walk around holy places amid prayers, had traveled through the country and had also come to Kalatse. These people had shown all kinds of tricks: one of them was able to make his body rigid at will, and then he would stick a large needle through his cheeks, knives through the muscles of his arms and thighs, without feeling any pain or so much as bleeding; lying on the ground he had a companion knock a large stone into pieces with a heavy hammer on his bare chest; he would swallow the blade of a sword, and perform other tricks of a similar nature. The people went from house to house, performed their tricks, and offered for sale to the inhabitants turquoises and tile tea, as well as all kinds of secret remedies. In one or two houses the Nask'orpas had also offered for sale a peculiar medicine, after they had found out 187/ shrewd inquiry and questioning that this or that villager lived at enmity with his neighbors. The people said that the Naskorpas had an eye for opportunities where they were able to offer such secret remedies and to find customers for them. It was a remedy which was designed to make an enemy sick, even if not to kill him outright. It consisted of pills which contain poisonous plant substances, as well as the "five unclean things" (162) which are 754 [789]

162. These "Five unclean Things" (rdzas mi gtsaṅ-ba lña)

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
[P. 50a] Spiti

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It must be remembered that in a land where only the eldest son marries and all the younger sons are celibate, a sonless land-owner naturally has no relations in the male line to adopt.

d.—Where there is a childless widow.

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If a man dies childless, his widow first marries his younger brother. Failing him, she may marry any man of her husband's *got*. But the land is considered her property till she has borne a son, who, on attaining his majority, steps into the *khang chhen*.

Cremation.

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Coffins are not used in Spiti for want of wood. Corpses are carried in a sitting posture to the burning-ground either on a man's shoulder or in a blanket held by four men.

II.

Social Ideas.

Asceticism.

785

Hermits exist and are said to subsist on nothing but tea and one morning meal.

Excommunication.

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A man can be excommunicated for eating with a man or cohabiting with a woman of lower caste than himself. The decision is announced by public proclamation.

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The *lámas* taking no part in this, but they turn out a *láma* who misbehaves himself and he is never taken back in any circumstances.

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An excommunicated layman can be received back into caste after ceremonies. He has to read a book on *shakspa* or penitential offerings, burn a lamp in front of a *deota*, feast the *lámas*, and may be ordered to make 100 or 1,000 prostrations before some *deota* in a monastery.

Leprosy.

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Leprosy is found in one village in Spiti, ascribed to the water of a spring, wherein lives a devil, Chutalwá.

If a man passes the spring on a day when the devil happens to be present, he is liable to get leprosy.

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A leper is not allowed to marry, but if married, he is not separated from his wife. He feeds by himself in a separate room and the villagers will not eat with him.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

with him in the Gilgit area of northern Pakistan. In 1950 he was 000
flying the Karakorams. His orders were not to fly above fourteen thousand feet without his oxygen mask. He tried fifteen thousand feet and felt no ill effects. He climbed to sixteen thousand feet and felt fine. Still without his oxygen mask, he went to seventeen thousand feet. He flew at seventeen thousand feet for fifteen minutes or so and did not put on his oxygen mask. "These rules are made for other men, not me," he said to himself. "I've apparently got this altitude problem licked." He felt wonderful. He felt like the champion who had had many drinks and was sure that one more would be just right for him. He felt a bit like Superman.

That was the last he remembered. He woke up twenty-three days later in a hospital in the Kingdom of Swat. His plane had gone into a spin and crashed, breaking most of his bones and causing a brain concussion.

Altitude, like alcohol, sometimes gives a false sense of strength, power, and poise. One who is not aware of this phenomenon may walk the high ridges like a fool.

The hill people of the Himalayas are aware of the grosser 753
aspects of mountain sickness. They have seen horses and mules drop dead from overexertion at high altitudes. They have seen the minor symptoms of sleeplessness and the loss of appetite, and the major ones where the body swells, the lips turn black, the head and heart ache, the throat becomes parched, and the temperature falls. They know that one who has suffered one major attack of mountain sickness seldom survives another.

My trek produced no major mountain illness, although someone [176]
in the party was slightly ill after each pass we crossed. But the risk is prominent in every native's mind. This is pass poison. Passes are unhealthy places. One never stops there long; he hurries over. The places are occupied by gods and goddesses, some of whom are evil. They produce the storms that fell man and beast and leave their bones to bleach on these high and un-

773 All these peculiar names of the sun and the moon are to be found
774 in the reports about Kesar's birth. At Kesar's birth there is a general
821 giving of birth to various creatures. The old sun gives birth to a young sun, the old moon to a young moon, and all breeding animals, horses, oxen, goats, sheep, dogs, cats, and so forth, give birth to young. Among the creatures not belonging to the animal kingdom which reproduce themselves at this point we find the rainbow, rGya-stag-khra-bo, the "great, colored rope," and the cloud, sGe-mo-dkar-moi-ston-shon, the "white sack, container of a thousand." Just as the sickle of the moon is considered the original ancestor of all sickles, axes, and hatchets, so the rainbow is regarded as the original ancestor of all strings and ropes, and the cloud is looked upon as the original ancestor of all sacks. The trinity of moon sickle, rainbow rope, and cloud sack, incidentally, also plays a significant role in the Ron-no-rub-can, the Tibetan Vetala.

Scattered here and there we also find still other personifications of the phenomena of nature. In wedding song No. IIIb[1] the wind, sKye-ser-rlun-po, is called "wind, rouser of coolness." To it is attributed /24/ the feat of having hollowed out the valleys. This is, of course, quite reminiscent of the modern theories of wind erosion held by our geographers. In the same song the rain, under the name sBan-char-zil-bu, "moist rain, dew," is also mentioned. To it is attributed the creation of the concepts "above" and "below." This perhaps because of the fact that rain originates above and dew down below.

As we have already seen above, the personification of the glacier is Sne-ge-dkar-mo-gYu-ral-can, "the white lioness with the turquoise-colored mane." In the song just cited she appears as the mother of the glacier. She is of great importance because on her depends the supply of water for the land. This lioness, the riding animal of the mother of the gods, is frequently mentioned, together with types of animals considered as firm representatives of the animal kingdom. However, this is, after all, also the case with the sun bird Khyun. (See Tag-ma-cig, wedding songs Nos. I[1] and II.[1]) Such representatives of the animal kingdom are: Bya-rgyal-rgod-po, "the wild king of the birds"; the eagle; sKyin-chen-ba-rgan, the "big ibex, the old ox"; Nya-mo-gser-mig, the "female fish gold eye"; it is also called Nya-mo-khyu-ru; rKyan-byun-kha-dkar, "the white mouth born from kiang," a horse; aBron-
773 byun-rog-po, "the black one born from the wild yak," a yak.
776 gNyan are said to be spirits who carry on their nefarious activi-
753 ties in various places. According to S. Ch. Das's Wörterbuch

1 [see Category 116, #s 1-8, for references --Analyst]

/Dictionary/ they are supposed to be bringers of the plague in particular. In wedding song No. XX four types of gNyan are enumerated: 776 753 773

At the blue zenith the gNyan of sun and moon,
Near the high cliff the gNyan of the wind,
In the wide ocean the gNyan of the babbling, rushing billows (?),
In the flowing water the gNyan with loud voices.

This little verse again shows the world divided into the three parts of heaven, earth, and water, and it indicates that the Tibetans imagined the entire world to be populated by small, evil-doing spirits.

In connection with what was said before, we ask ourselves how matters stood among the Tibetans with respect to ancestor worship. If, at the present day, we do not find much of this kind of worship, this is to be explained from the introduction of Buddhism. It should be remembered that the belief in the transmigration of souls, which came into the country together with Buddhism, placed the ancestors in successive rebirths. In the songs of the Dard the Mum-mo, really "uncle," "eme," the forefather, plays an important role. Among the Tibetans, however, I have not encountered a similar figure as yet. 769 [775]

On the other hand, it is possible that some forceful exclamations, popular oaths, that are used by the West Tibetans, point to something like ancestor worship. The exclamation of this kind which is heard most frequently is: A-bii-sha, "by the flesh of my grandmother." In the Bonpo book gZer-mig we very frequently find the word phe-sha as an expression of forceful affirmation. This was probably in its original form pha.-sha, meaning "by the flesh of my father." (This is all that up till now it has been possible to find in this field. A single case of a prayer addressed to one's deceased father, and of a father entombed in a stupa are to be found in the saga of rGyal-sa-dkar-po /Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 322./ /The preceding brackets are the author's. --Translator./ The son of mDapon-gon-ma had been wounded and vanquished. He prayed for his dead father, and the latter showed him an arrow by means of which he would again be able to regain the victory.) [95] [113]

778

Cult Places of the Ancient Tibetan Religion

I have succeeded in discovering a number of the cult places of

† [See cat. 116, pp 1-8 for references. -- Analyst]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

shrine of the local deity (*yül-lha*, (*Yul-lha*)), where she offers up some *chang*. His father and three of his relatives have, in the meantime, carried a large pile of *tsampa* up to the same place, and they, too, present it to the god as an offering. A lama will then draw the figure of a stag in the dust in front of the shrine, and will shoot at it with an arrow from a bow he has brought. This is supposed to kill all evil which might attack the child.

Next, when a boy is between four and five, his hair is ritually cut in a ceremony which goes by the name of *Raldag* (probably *Ral-ltag*, "long hair-neck hair"). After three days of feasting in which the whole family, their relatives and their friends take part, the child's maternal uncle (*azhang* (*a-zhang*)) shears all his nephew's hair off and takes the locks to each person present in turn. In exchange for looking at the hair, they each give a small piece of money to the parents as a lucky offering.

The first doctor whom I saw was called Sönam Tashi (*bSod-Nams-bKra-shis*) and he was a lama from a village called Bardgi. He informed me that there were quite a lot of nervous ailments in Lahul, the principal ones being epilepsy and hysteria. The first of these two appeared when the person was about fifteen years old, and he attributed the cause to alcohol. He thought, too, that it might have some connection with the high incidence of venereal diseases to be found in the valley, infections which he said had been introduced from Kulu. Hysteria often brought with it symptoms of frigidity in women and of impotence in men, and he had a number of patients suffering in this way. As a cure for epilepsy, he advocated beating with hot juniper branches. Hysteria was better cured, he thought, by administering pills made of paper upon which prayers had been written.

There was a Government Hospital at Kyelang, and on the 28th June 1938 I went there to interview its director, Dr. Bhagwan Singh. I asked him about Tibetan medicine, and who the local doctors were in Lahul. He told me that there were quite a number of them and that they went by the name of *amchi* (*Am-ch'hi* or *Aem-ch'hi*). The best among them was Katug (*Ka-bTug*) of Chelling, but there were also Tsering Norbu (*Ts'he-ring Nor-bu*) of Billing, Dön-drup (*Don-Grub*) of Kardang, and the old uncle of the Wazir, Thakur Mangal Chand, *amchi* of Kyelang, whose Tibetan name was Tashi Dawa (*bKra-shis Zla-ba*). According to Dr. Bhagwan Singh, ayurvedic medicine (although I think this was only his way of naming Tibetan medicine as distinct from the Western system) was practised, but extra to this, considerable use was made of Tibetan medicinal herbs.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

so, especially when, in Kyelang, I had discovered significant psychological disorders in members of polyandrous households. In Ladak, the information that I gathered was not quite as sensational, but it confirmed to a large extent what I already knew now about the psychopathology of the people of these regions.

My first such visit was to the Kashmir State hospital in Leh on the 30th August, 1938. There I met the chief physician in charge, a Dogra medical officer called Dr. M. S. Diwani. He told me that venereal diseases were, as usual, the dominant illnesses which he had to treat. He attributed their wide distribution in Ladak to contacts with Moslem traders from Sinkiang, who passed them on through the intermediary of the temporary wives which they took from the local, Buddhist population. Extra to digestive troubles due to a diet of excessive tea and *chang* drinking, there were many cases of epilepsy and hysteria. The former sickness seemed mostly to plague Moslem women, while the latter was the perogative of single Buddhist women and nuns in the nunnerise. They got attacks usually during their menstrual periods, and nearly always at night. The cure for these afflictions was in the hands of the *amchis*, who cauterized the head of the patient in prescribed places.

There was much osteomelitis about, Dr. Diwani said, and it was due to the *purdah* habits of Moslem women, because they did not get sufficient sun. The Buddhist women who worked on the fields never suffered from this illness. He knew of no cases of impotence or frigidity, as no one had been to see him for such ailments. There was madness in the area, the most significant case being that of the *Tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation of Tikse Gompa (see *The Mad Tulku of Tikse* by the same author, Stepping Stones, Kalimpong, 1950). To my question as to whether he knew of homosexuality in Ladak, Dr. Diwani said that it was widespread in the monasteries, where the relations between master and novice were universally known to take on that character.

On the 1st September 1938, when I visited the Gad-po-pa (*rGad-po-pa*) household, and made its genealogy (see p. 368), I took advantage of my talk with the informant Chond who, it will be recalled, was an *amchi* or native doctor, to enquire from him about his practice. He told me that he had many cases of giddiness to deal with, and he attributed this to bad diet in the case of the men, and to irregularities in the menses of women. There were no cases of impotence or frigidity, as far as he knew, but many of anxiety and hysteria, which he had to treat, nearly always, in women. They were mainly to be found among single women and nuns, and often took the form of nervous blindness

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

158 and deafness for certain periods of time. He attributed this to devils
[753] which possessed the individual concerned, and he, personally, tried to
cure them by cauterization of the head. If this did not help, the patients
[755] were advised to visit the lamas, who gave the religious formulas to eat,
or carried out exorcisms over them. Chonde showed me his cauterization instruments and a chart which guided him as to where to apply the red-hot irons.

[115] The Reverend Walter Asboe, whose Moravian Mission ran a small
[143] dispensary and hospital in the Mission House in Leh, was also informative about nervous ailments in the town. He said that men did come
[164] to be cured of impotence, but that they were nearly all physical cases
[833] and definitely not mental ones. As it was, it was not living in polyan-
548 dry which made them impotent, for if the common wife was not to their
[555] liking, they could always seek relief with some of the numerous prosti-
[795] tutes that were to be found in Leh. All of these professionals, he said, were Moslems, not Buddhists, and were usually recruited from among the temporary wives, converted to Mohammedanism by the Yarkandi traders, surplus women left over by the polyandry of the Buddhist Ladakis.

[158] The Reverend Asboe had come across no cases of frigidity in women,
[795] but, on the contrary, he knew of many cases of nymphomania. Again,
[833] this affliction was to be found among the Moslem women converts, never among the polyandrous wives of the Buddhist households. He
838 had also heard that homosexuality was prevalent in the monasteries,
792 and since, he said, Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* contained all the numerous Tibetan terms for various sexual perversions, it seemed from this that these were widespread throughout Ladak.

[115] Nono Tse-P'hün, as my principal interpreter and informant, was of an opposite opinion. He said that homosexuality was a punishable offence in Kashmiri law, and therefore did not exist in Ladak. It was looked upon with great disfavour anyhow, by the Ladakis, and he felt sure that no one indulged in it, not even in the monasteries. In Tibet, it was another matter, he added, and it was known that it was practised in the large monasteries of Central Tibet, as any monk returning from Lhasa or Shigatse where he had gone for his studies could tell.

296 With regard to prostitution, this is the place perhaps, to mention
171 what Joseph Gergan once told me about the smoking of tobacco. I had asked him on the 14th October 1938, in Kargil, as we were travelling together towards the Kashmir capital, Srinagar, how it was that in the whole of Tibet and in areas under the cultural influence of that country,